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ABSTRACT

The objective of naturalistic observations conducted in schools and homes in the inner city was to relate teacher expectation to pupil behavior. Following kindergarten observations, selected black children predicted as potentially successful and black children predicted as poor achievers were observed in their homes along with their mothers. This report is a critique of the research methods employed in the study. It suggests that natural observation is particularly suited to white middle class participants. For a minority group subculture, however, the concept of a "uni-cultural" view of American families does not apply. The alternative offered is an anthropological approach, in which the observer assumes an activist position to develop an honest reciprocal relationship with the subjects. For the purposes of curriculum guides and teacher training, an attempt should be made to eliminate middle class biases and stereotypes when studying black children's learning patterns. The behaviors of poor black children at home and in school differ from those of middle class white children. Their educational needs are also different. The concepts of age, status, sex, and communication factors are discussed as they apply to these differences. The appendix offers a selection of tape-recorded data that illustrate the content of black children's verbalizations and themes. (DR)

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A DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH AIMS AND STRATEGIES FOR STUDYING EDUCATION IN THE INNER-CITY

A critique of non-participant observations.

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PRELIMINARY DRAFT

currently in process of
revision.

The research project which will be discussed in this paper was conducted in a large midwestern city. Naturalistic observations were conducted in four all Black elementary schools and homes in the inner-city.[1] Our objective was to relate teacher expectation to pupil behavior. Beginning with the first day at kindergarten, teacher-pupil interactions were recorded (by written notation) with special attention given to content and style of spoken communication. Following a three month period the teachers were then asked to pick out two children from their class whom they would predict as potentially successful and two they would see as potentially poor achievers. The researchers then visited in the homes of those selected children observing spoken communication and mothering behavior in general.

This paper shall review and criticize the method employed in this research project. The method of naturalistic observation as described by Henry will be discussed followed by suggestions of alternatives.

Natural observation, as described in the original project outline is grounded in the anthropological tradition of the study of primitive societies. In this context natural observation meant living for an extended period of time in the native habitat and was dependent upon observation plus participation. Henry himself used this method when studying the Kaingang and the Pilagá in Brazil.

Later in his career Henry turned to the analysis of complex societies and in so doing he modified the participant-observation approach. In his well-known study of the families of autistic children Henry lived for a week in the children's homes, maintaining an impassive non-involved stance.[2] In Culture Against Man Henry again analyzes the findings of his observations

in middle class American schools, homes, and mental hospitals.[3]

It would appear that Henry had decided that prolonged involvement was not a necessary prerequisite to coming to an understanding of his own native United States. As he has written in his defense of natural observations, the unifying theme of these investigations is the expression of cultural factors through the lives and personalities of the individuals studied.

> The culture of a family is the idiosyncratic expression within a particular family of the values, drives, and attitudes traditional in the culture as a whole. . .in our culture. . .the values of achievement, competition, money, kindness, solicitude for others, etc., are stressed, they have varying significance in different families.[4]

Proceeding from this "uni-cultural" view of American families it would be natural that when Henry turned to the analysis of Black social structure his aim would be to describe the patterns through which lower-class and middle-class Black persons expressed American cultural themes and values. As the technique of NATURAL observation was used in this study the researcher visited for short periods (1 to 2 hours a week) of time in the homes and schools of the children. During this time parents and other members of the household or school were engaged in conversations informal interviews.

It should be noted that this method has traditionally been successful when applied in situations with informants who were themselves middle-class persons. The investigator may even become "confidants" or "father confessors." For example, when Henry lived with the families of the autistic children the middle-class parents were receptive to his presence because he had advised them that he was interested in learning more about

disturbed children in order to help their own and other children. Henry was readily made privy to the more intimate and personal aspects of the family.[5]

In addition to the motivation of the informants, the success of this method is due to the fact that children, being unsophisticated, will not alter their behavior in the presence of a stranger. Parents will be forced to act in a typical manner thus unconsciously exposing important underlying dynamics of their behavior.

In summary, the success of non-participant-observation in families and schools is based upon the inability of children to mask their emotions and drives. Secondly, upon the assumption that the parents and teachers may be motivated to openness in belief that it will improve their children's development or education.

II

Non-participant observation is quite fruitful in the study of the structure of the educational bureaucracy. Eddy,[6] Smith and Geoffrey,[7] or Barker,[8] to name but a few, were interested in observations of social process within school systems. They observed role behaviors and personal interaction as expressed within a particular milieu. Studies such as these describe the confrontation of school and home culture with the emphasis upon the culture of the school. There are no clear distinctions made between familial patterns and institutional constraints. Kohl[9] and Kozol,[10] describing the vicissitudes of urban education also fail to distinguish between Black culture and school culture. A middle-class reader

of these above studies is moved to condemn the harsh Black teacher who maintains a quiet classroom, interacting minimally, bestowing her favors on a privileged few and acting in an authoritarian manner.

Influencing the foregoing typical descriptions of Black teachers and children are particular aspects of Black mother-child patterns. Furthermore, a source of frustration and failure in urban education is the lack of congruence between a white-middle class curriculum and the learning process of the Black child.

Curriculum guides and teacher training aids are written with a white middle-class teacher in mind. It is expected that the teacher will naturally spend a great deal of her time explaining and discussing a lesson. It assumed that the teacher will strive to exert her control over her students covertly and from within, that she will "get inside the child's mind." As was evident in our own research in middle-class white kindergartens the teacher's main concern was the fostering of security and "groupiness" and the minimizing of peripherality. To accomplish this the teacher needs to be in continual and intense interaction with all the children, exerting control in an "apparently" non-authoritarian manner.

This view of child growth is identical with that of the average white middle-class parent. I need not dwell here upon the well described insulated, protective, nuclear family, I only wish to remind the reader of its harmony with instructional patterns found in the classroom.

The question which naturally emerges from the above discussion centers around the validity of a hypothesis of shared cultural norms

among all strata of a complex society. It is my position that minority group subcultural strata may possess socializing patterns which are distinct from those of the majority and may be a source of frustration when one pattern conflicts with another, as in education.

The tools and techniques of anthropology could be used to make a unique contribution along this line. An anthropological approach to Black social structure would strive to understand Black norms, values, and behaviors in their own terms. Hopefully there could be developed theories of urban education which were multi-dimensional and move beyond class-biased descriptions of "cultural deprivation."

By viewing the actions of man in a modern urban setting as an interrelated system of adaptations to environmental and social conditions we are allowed to view the types of familial and community organizations in the Black ghetto as viable structures open to analyses and study. By way of illustration it is questionable whether the majority of descriptions of Black parents and children are no more than descriptions of their adaptation to the presence of a white middle-class professional, a condescending interviewer, or an enenlightened "do-gooder."

One can ask what in a Black child's past experience with members of the white majority class would motivate him to becoming vulnerable and expressing his inner feelings? Why should a Black mother, experienced from childhood with welfare office and police department trust a researcher who visits once or twice a week with the unlikely promise of alleviation of educational problems? The answer is, of course, that there is little reason for trust or confidence and there is a great likelihood of information which would only support already existing stereotypes of the ghetto

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family.

No one should assume for a moment that Black persons are naieve concerning their position in society nor the motivation of most researchers. Furthermore, children and adults are quite adept at playing games with the researcher and managing to hide their true attitudes, often by appearing passive and inarticulate.

One devestating aspect of this problem is that the teachers themselves adhere to the "uneducable" and "unmotivated" stereotype. As I observed in a Black kindergarten, and as others in our research have noted, the teacher is a most effective agent of social stratification. The teacher will select children who are most middle-class, and least like a ghetto dweller, in speech and behavior in whom to invest the majority of her time and resources.[11] This process, begun in kindergarten rigidified in first grade through reading "levels."

For this reason one who analyzes ghetto education has a twofold task, first to describe patterns of learning of Black children and secondly to rid ourselves of our middle-class biases and study of the cognitive and perceptual processes of Black children, as we would a distinct cultural group. This position may appear extreme but it is necessary due to the familiarity with and proximity of, ghettoes to academic institutions. I would suggest an approach similar to that taken by Piaget to Swedish children be developed for analysis of ghetto children. We are so entrenched in conscious or unconscius racism and faith in traditional measures of intellectual functioning that we must start anew in order to make meaningful inroads and new discoveries.

Anthropologists studying education and culture might follow the lead

of modern linguistics. Recently certain linguists have taken the position that the structure of Black American English is different in grammatical structures from Standard American English. It is implicit in this position that there may well be deep structural differences also--semantic differences.[12] There have been exciting new insights gained by taking a position that Black language is not to be analysed as a corrupt version of Standard English as this precludes searching for distinct rules and new structures.

Anthropologists take the view that language and behavior are inseparable in the development of perception and cognition. For this reason it is imperative that we develop methods which will not intrude our linguistic and behavioral systems upon those of our subjects.

We have now begun to define the problem in a new light and it follows that we should begin to consider creative innovative methods of observation, as defined by Valentine[12] or Liebow,[13] for example. The particular political and economic conditions in urban areas today increases the complications of beginning participant-observation. As the two above mentioned authors have made clear,the anthropologist must discard the role of an uncommitted observer, and take an activist position to one degree or another in order to develop the beginnings of an honest reciprocal relationship with the subjects of study.

My frustration with the weekly situation procedure of our original research design and my nagging suspicion, which later grew into a conviction, that we were recording and analyzing "Paper People" led me to a different approach with stimulating and promising initial results.

It might be mentioned here that the majority of studies of Black culture have been primarily studies of Black men. We do not know yet how a young Black woman copes with her circumstances, how she views her men, or how she feels about her children.

In the following section I shall briefly describe the developments which led me to this point and conclude with suggestions for further research.

III

Stemming from a linguistic analysis I was conducting in the first grade of the phonology of children and the teacher, I decided to obtain samples of the speech of children who as yet had not entered school. I volunteered my services to a summer Headstart Program as a semi-formal "speech correctionist." During this time I became acquainted with several of the mothers and one or two teachers.

I was quite surprised to observe during this time that the mothers and teachers sat in the front of the classroom conversing with one another while the children and their teenage assistants busied themselves at their tables. My traditional view of education and learning caused me to be very critical of this teaching method, as it seemed the parents were more interested in each other than the children.

The teacher and the parents were openly suspicious of my understanding of Black children. (In this role I hadn't the support of a member of the School Board, I was just a citizen). I was reminded that I was using the same old methods, and would arrive at the same results indicating deficiency on the part of the Black children. "What are you going to do to help these children?" I was asked repeatedly.

During this summer's experience it was also evident to me that my presence had a strong effect (I am a white middle-class female) upon the nature, and kind, of behavior of teacher and parents. I was treated as a "non-person" the majority of the time. There was a great deal of criticism of my permissivity and affectionate actions toward the children. Evidently I was not seen as a social worker type to be manipulated and communicated with in a manipulative fashion but more as a confused individual to be tolerated.

My experience with the children in the Headstart Program was very rewarding. We taped stories and played games during the entire morning. I found little non-verbal behavior, even on the part of the children whom the teacher had told me would have trouble speaking and learning to read and write. Of great importance to me was the discovery that in speaking of those situations and experiences relevant to their lives the children were highly expressive and their quantity of speech was equal to any childs'.

Following this summer's experience I decided to heed the words of the Headstart teacher and I dropped my role as impassive researcher. I began to enter new relationships with mothers from the inner-city. It has become natural and important to me as an individual to enter into local community political organizations. Though I would be the first to admit that I am still viewed primarily as a resource to be exploited for reasons of social and economic benefit because of my tie with the academic Establishment I am at least beginnning to observe behavior at a depth previously not found in weekly two-hour visits.

By way of illustration of the relevance of my research to the

problems of education and culture I might briefly discuss age and status in the Black community.

As I have observed, during early childhood the Black child is ubquitous yet non-interacting with his parents and other adults most of the time. Though he is nearby and attending to the conversations of adults he is not expected to interrupt or comment. Yet, as he approaches adolescence and his contributions to the family increase (daughter may become chief mothering figure for younger siblings, son may bring substantial money into the home) they are accrued adult status and as such enjoy new freedom in interacting with their elders without the risk of ridicule.

This difference in the behaviors of youngsters and adolescents may shed light upon the behavior of the Headstart teacher who conversed with other adults during the school day or of Black teachers who have been described as engaging in minimal verbal interaction with the Primary grade children. In the higher grades we have observed teachers frequently chat with the children as equals. This seems to begin at about the age a Black child is reaching adult status in his home. I observed, for example, a Black male teacher engaging in a mildly joking and seductive repartée with one of his thirteen year old female students. This joking behavior was in marked contrast to his "teacher-as-authority" role which he also used in other contexts. The conflict inherent in these two contexts is apparent and centers around the difference in concepts of maturity of a graded curriculum and of the Black community.

A related aspect of Black society is the importance of age and sex

differences and their influence upon peer group formation. Though, apparently, Black male children develop fairly cohesive group solidarity to the point that they rarely appear anywhere alone, the Black girls and women seem to lead a solitary life. As we have observed even in kindergarten though the girls may develop dyadic relationships they are primarily interested in gaining the attention and affection of the teacher. In the classroom as the school year progressed, most of the boys became more and more peripheral to the actual teaching and concentrated on communicating with each other. It should be remembered that teacher places the children in Levels and spends most of her time with those in the highest Level, leaving the remainder of the children to wile away their time drawing on one sheet of paper or just staring into space. Therefore she in turn contributes to the further crystallization of a cultural pattern having its beginning in the home.

There are other broad implications related to the foregoing factors and I shall mention but one. The fact that the Black child is accustomed to the continual presence of relatives and peers is important for the structuring of interviews, therapy sessions, or testing procedures. In the Black families which I have observed the primary communication and learning about the environment is between those of similar age and sex. A conversation with an adult is seen as usually initiated with a specific task in mind or possibly a correction to be administered. The child appears to behave as though he wished to be as unobtrusive as possible and to pay close attention to what he is being instructed to do. I have often witnessed both in the home and in school that a Black child

prefers a non-verbal response to an incorrect response. Apparently the risk of ridicule is lessened by this strategy. No small wonder the child lapses into silence or appears sullen and frightened when faced with a white higher-status adult and asked to perform tasks which are novel and possibly meaningless to him.

It is tempting to relate this "no-response" strategy to a larger adaptive stratgey having historical roots in the Negro past. Beginning with slavery and continuing through to the present Black persons have utilized a coping mechanism which through appearing passive and self-destructive in reality serves to protect the individual from real destruction by masking his true attitudes and feelings and preserving his own feelings of adequacy and worth.

The change in behavior of Black children when in a group and when alone became apparent to me when I was tape recording speech samples. In an effort to reduce the effect of my speech patterns upon theirs I began using "native" speakers as interviewers and almost immediately the quantity and quality of verbal behavior multiplied. I then began to just hand the microphone to different children in turn and allow them to interview each other. The only unfortunate aspect of this technique is that it is almost impossible to be sure which child is being taped at any particular time as interrrptions and group talking are frequent.

In order to obtain more data on the nature of Black children's grammar and an understanding of the kinds of textbook content may be meaningful I have begun a "Write Your Own Book" program in an inner-city housing project . Beyond linguistic analyses it is my long range hope that

experiences such as these will, in the near future, develop to the point where cognitive and perceptual analyses can be based on the Black children's own life and language.

In my "Write Your Own Book" program the children come in voluntarily, they tape stories, jokes, or discuss their views on the tape recorder. Following this they then illustrate and write stories for us. My two student assistants from the University and myself act as a Black mother might. We do not supervise closely rather we chat among ourselves and with other adults. We give the older children the tape-recorder and allow them to monitor the stories of the younger children. If we do conduct an interview it is always with a group of children. This setting appears to have a definite effect upon the quality of expression found in the recordings. The children are even beginning to loose their fear of saying obscenities or other sensitive statements to which I might react negatively.

Though this program has just begun my experience assures me that no deficit hangs over the inner-city in verbal facility, or creativity when the language used is their own Black grammar. In discussing matters and experiences close to their own lives the interest, motivation, and concentration of the children is extremely high. (See Appendix for transcriptions of some of the data).

I think it is important to conclude by adding that this entire "Write your Own Book" program was begun and is continuing with no resources other than those of the inner-city community. We have the support and interest of local community and political organizations and most importantly the time and energy of those involved.

In summary I have indicated my dissatisfaction with attenuated observations based upon a "uni-cultural" view of American society and behavior. I discussed the differences in behaviors found in Black homes as cpposed to white middle-class homes and the educational problems which arise when it is assumed these differences are inconsequential. I have demanded that we begin to understand Black children as they grow and develop in their own families and neighborhoods. In conclusion I discussed my attempt along this line and presented a selection of tape-recorded data.

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APPENDIX

JOKES

Once upon a time, there was a white man, a Chinese man, and a colored man. So they went to this house, and they saw a quarter on the table. So there was this voice that said, "I'm the voice of Gramma Mabel, put that quarter back on the table." So he put the quarter back on the table. Then he jumped out the window and broke his neck. Then the Chinese man went in there. He heard something say, "I'm the ghost of Gramma Mabel, put that quarter back on that table." So he put the quarter back on the table and jumped out the window and broke his neck. The colored man went in there. He was getting ready to put the quarter in his back pocket so he heard something say, "I'm the ghost of Gramma Mabel, put that quarter back on that table." So he looked all around. He didn't put the quarter back on the table, so he said, "This the ghost of Davy Crockett, I'm picking it up and its going in my pocket."
Male. . .8 yrs.

So it was this white man, this Chinese man, and this colored man. Then, so, they didn't have no place to stay. So they went to this cabin. And they said, "May I stay in your cabin up in the attic?" But he said, "You better not get my daughter's boody." So he went up in the and he got his daughter's boody, and then, so he say, "I give you ten to get up that hill." So he didn't make it up the hill in ten and he shot him. So the Chinese man went in there, he said, "May I stay up in your attic?" He say, "Yes, but you better not get my daugher's boody." So he went up in tha attic, and then he got his daugher's boody. And so he said, "I give you ten to get up that hill. He didn't make it up the hill in ten and he shot him. And then so a colored man weht in there. He say, "Can I stay in your attic?" He say, "Yes, but you better not get in my daughter's boody, "So, he got his daughter's boody. And he said, "I give you ten to get up that hill." So he made it up the hill in one.
Male. . .7 yrs.

This is a story about shoo-bi--loo. Once upon a time there was this white man, this Chinese,man, and this colored man. They went upstairs to stay in their shack. And this white man heard something say, "This is the voice of shoo-bi-loo-o-o, nobody here but me and you-o-o." So he jumped out the window and broke his neck. Then the Chinese man went in there, so he sat in this shack and he heard something say, "This is the voice of shoo-bi-loo-o-o, nobody here but me and you-o-o." So he jumped out the window and broke his neck. So the colored man went in there, he heard sometinng say, "This is the voice of shoo-bi-loo-o, nobody here but me and you-o-o." "Give me time to put on my shoe, nobody here but you-o-o."
Female. . .11 yrs.

Once upon a time there was two mans. One had a thousand faces, one had a million faces. One of them said, "Hey, you got my face." And he said, "No, I don't." Then he said, "I bet you five dollars, you put five

bucks down there, I show you all my faces." Then he turned into a Black man, and then the other one turned into a Black man, then the third one turned into a white man. And then the other one turned into a white man. Then the other one turned into a Niggero man, and then turned into a Black man, and thats the end of the two mans with a thousand faces.
Male. . .12 yrs.

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READING, THEMES THEY HAVE WRITTEN

The name of my story is Hes Going to Break Out.
(he has drawn cartoons which show a man in prison talking to the prison guards)
Hey cops, see I ain't nothin but a hip top dago hill cat, you know. Do you understand, and don't forget it. I'm going to break out of this joint, do you dig?
Let's go, gang.
You really got a big mouth, jail bird.
Charley, you need a shave.
You need a good washing up too!
You big mouth, gut teeth, loud nosed head son of a gun.
Lets go, boys.
Big deal, do you dig?

Male. . .12 yrs.

Cassius Clay was
a famous boxer.
He refused to go to the Army.
So they locked him in jail.
And thats all I know.

Male. . .11 yrs. old

Lou Brock.
In the World Series he hit the first, The famous Lou Brock hit his second home run in the World Series.
(R: Where did you find out about it?) In the second World Series game when they were playing it. (R: Is he a hero of yours?) Well, you could say one of them.

Male. . .11 yrs. old

Speaking of Negero history. You dig? I called myself 11, but I think I'm ten. Anyway I'm in the sixth grade when I think about it, no I'm in the fifth. Anyway, I'm just a big fat Negero, you dig? And thats what this thing right here I got. Here what it says, "Negero history was two weeks ago, it was you know. Pretty soon it will be four or five or six,

so. And this is what this is all about. The Jackson Five. If you go in there and you look on the wall (at his drawing) well you'll see my picture. A Black group singing and dancing. Here the guitar. You see that up on the wall, too. And heres a band I know called the Jackson Five. Thats his thing. You dig? And, anyway, think I know how the song go, think I could sing it to you. Can I, Michael?

Male. . .10 yrs.

It's Frederick Douglas. (he has drawn a picture), he was born in 1817 and died 1895. He had a white father, still he was born a slave, and he was a publisher of a newspaper. The North Star. Harriet Tubman, she was a lady, ran underground railroad. It helped the slaves escape from slavery. Once they say, she was on a train, she couldn't read or write. It was a man he came through he was catching all the runaway slaves and he knew Harriet Tubman couldn't read or write so she picked up a newspaper and held it up hoping it was right side up and it was and he passed on by, then she made it to Canada. But she did not stay she went back to get her husband and her children. The husband didn't want to come back. So she rescued the children and she still went back to get more and more slaves and if a slave wanted to turn back she point a gun at him and say, "Die where you standing or keep going." They always keep going. None of Harriet Tubman's passengers were ever captured.

Male. . .11 yrs. old

Dr. Martin King, Jr. He was a Black helper and a white helper who, he was done in, assassinated, February. Born February 15, 1958. He was born in Leonard, Ga. He has four kids and a wife, and he was Black. He marched Washington, and he didn't believe in violence, he said he had a dream, he said justice for all.

Male. . .9 yrs.

The name my story is the three projects's. Those two projects's is not the same as the other one. Two of those, these project's has a elevator and the other one do not have a elevator. Thats why I name the story the three projects.

Male. . .7 yrs.

(excerpts from a long story)
The name of this story is Mystery of the Limestone Ring.
Cast: the Johnson family.
Brain surgeon, father of the family.
Mother of four children
Tammy, she likes mysteries.
Mark, he likes model ships
Randy, a baby boy, they are twins.
The Barium family.

Grandmother, and she loves children
Tommy, collects stamps
Candy, collects dolls
Sindea, their funny monkey
and Mr. Cameron, the store man.

The contents of this story, the new house, the funny monkey, friends, and the missing doll, and who found the ring. This story is not finished.

One time there was a family that live in a apartment house, which was very crowded. Their father which was a brain surgeon, doctor. Thought they should move into a bigger house, because the twins Randy and Randea needed a backyard to play in. They were only babies twelve months old. They always get in the way. So their father went and put in a house they could only find one with a small backyard and since they were in suspense at finding a house and which they needed it badly, took it. It was a nice house, Tandy and Mark loved it very much, only they had found out that there were not children their age, where they lived, to play with, and they were very disgusted about it. All the Smiley children, two, three, four, or five years of age. "Mom, Can we go for a walk," Mark asked his mother. In a very loud shaky voice. "Just don't go too far." They walked and walked but still did not find anybody their age. They walked a little further. They came to a house, not big, but better yet it was smaller and had no trees and the sun was very hot. They stared at the yard for a while then Tammy asked, "Do you think anyone lives here?" "If they do," replied Mark. "I must--they must be very hot in this yard." After they left, and they were on their way home.

Female. . .13 yrs.

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PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

I would like to have something to talk to you. I am ten years old. I have a lady her name Carol, but I really doesn't know her real name. This boy name Jon, he been singing a song. He writing about the three projects. And the three projects say "These projects is not the same as the other, two of these projects has a elevator, but then I'm sorry I have to talk about my own."

I live at___, my door number is___. When I be downstairs, sometimes but not all the time. I don't go down there. But when its cold I be down there, be playing hop scotch either be playing with the hoola-hoop. But then, this is first time I had came here, hear? I was drawing picture. And then I wrote my name up on the board. And then. . .
FEMALE 10YRS.

Once upon a time there was a boy named Norm and a boy named Bill. We was walking down the street, and I said, "Mother-fucker, pimp." Then he say, "Shore aint no mother-fucker, brother" Then he say, "Little Black

nigger" And that the end of the two brothers name Norm and Bill. And they seven year old and one's six. I don't like my little Black brother named Bill he always suck his thumb, turn into a beaver, with his mother-fuck-it.

Male. . .7 yrs.

(R: What do you do after school?). We go hop in the bus and then we be going, "Ah, ah, ah." "Little Black boy." We be hollering out the window at the little people. We say, "Hey, little Black nigger." And then we come up there and say, "Hey little Black man." and then we say, "Hello old fat lady." Then we be hollering out the window saying, "Hey little old man."

Male. . .7 yrs.

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CONVERSATIONS

(topic is integrated schools)
J: Yea, the colored peoples treat us wrong.
T: Yea, in all schools we go to, we can't live in a white people neighborhood.
J: Thats right, brother.
T: We can't even go to school.
J: Thats right, jump on a hunk of that desk.
J: You know, we can't go to the store, you know that? One day I was going to the store. You know that the colored peoples moved in the house with the white people. . .
J: Big Black Moose
T: . . .and so every day, thats right, they got a big old dog, called big black Lucy. Every day when I go to the store, they jump on us. So at _____School don't no white go. Thats right. thats where we are.
J: We're against the white people!
T: No, they ain't. Not all, some are great.
J: We need some justice in this world.

(older boys, 18 and 19)
Say boy, watch you mouth! I want to tell you a story about this. My name is Sam, I'm eighteen years old. I want to tell you a story about a dude named Larry Fuller. No, dude's a no-good dude. The reason why he's no good. He tripping. Tell me how brother he tripping? He tripping.
Larry, Larry. Where you at? (piano is playing). My name is Sam I want to tell you a nice young story. Now this story's about John Johnson. John Johnson he got nappy hair, the reason why he got nappy

hair, he don't comb it. He smell like a stanky skunk, to me, you know, but. You know why he smell like a skunk, his mama don't buy no soap on Sundays. He try to be a pimp.
Cause he always messing up my thing when I'm talking to some broad.
I take them away from you!
No, you won't be doing all that.
Since when, last night?
Well, you old Jive bag, you like your daddy.
Let me tell you a story about Sam, hes got hair like a, the hardness of Father____'s shoes,
. .bout as thick as them shoes, and boy he got some bad shoes on.
. .got a crooked natural.
And this boy named Larry Fuller, oh boy, he think he a pimp. He got all the girls in the projects lined up, they gonna shoot his bad tail too!
Mary, ugly, nappy hair, never combs it. Nina, kinda cute, but otherwise, uh, she messed up too. Carla, he haven't done nothing to Carla yet.
He ain't going get nothing off that. She stuffin'. Am I telling the truth Larry?
No.
I'm telling the truth, you know it. Same with Bill, he messed up with a girl named Jan, Peggy, and this Gail, whoever she is. Supposed to be messing around with in the Church. Doing their thing.
That's all they can do, do their thing. Am I right?
Right on!
We got another little ugly boy in here, got nappy hair. Messed up face. Name is Percy Jones. Perry Jones, not Percy Jones. Ugly, nappy hair. Got some bad shoes on, tenny-brogues, white jacket. . .UM-um, look what walked in the door (R: enters) got on a minni-skirt, short. Don't forget Sam, goes out on 20th St., and Front, in a place called "CR", messing around with them punks, and going up in this hotel next door with them, and messing around one of them named Carl, live on tenth street. Carl, thats all. Good night, folks, this is Larry Bell reporting out. Bye.

(We asked them if they would like to play-act and we spontaneously began the following situation).
The characters are--A crying baby; a drunken husband coming home; husband's brother, and grandmother (R is GrMo.). Baby is 7, others 11. The boys were quite active during this and the noise level was very high. One boy (Fa) commented when listening to the tape, it sounds just like my mother when she's drunk, sounds just like my house.
Baby is lying on the floor in a corner, crying
Fa: (enters room, slams door, staggers around) Hey, fellas, you got some wiskey? Got some wiskey?
FaBr: Naw.
Ba: still crying.
Fa: I asked you a question. (voice loud, demanding) I asked you a question. (walks to Br and give a good stage slap)
Ba: Cries louder.
Fa: When I ask you something you supposed to answer! You understand?

APPENDIX
(Continued)

Fa: (To baby) and you come here and sit down. I'm through with you I'm gonna get out of here. (leaves, slams the door).
GM: Im glad that troublemaker is gone.
Br: Yeah, that's right.
GM: Don't darken this door again.
Fa: Okay, I ain't never coming back. (Leaves)
Ba: Cries loudly.
BF: I'm glad they gone too, nothing but a wino.
SM: Took all my money I was going to buy my kids some shoes.
FB: Took all my money I was ging to buy some whiskey with it. Here he comes!
Fa: (Enters)
FB: I told you not to come in my house no more, son.
Fa: What you think I'm coming in the house for?
FB: What you running out for son? (they're really shouting now)
FB: You get out of my house you hear!
Fa: I ain't drunk.
GM: You are too.
Fa: Okay, I'm gonna go to the Navy.
FB: They won't want you. (everyone laughs at this)
Fa: (leaves, slams the door)
GM: Hey here come the priest, talk to him. (Father____enters)
Pr: How are you all today?
FB: We've been alright except for one exception. Him.
Pr: Oh, your brother?
FB: Yeah, that old. . .
Fa: (Enters, singing Navy song) Six years later.
GM: Did the Army change you any?
Fa: Naw, I just got shot up a few times. . .The Army only changed me one time. You know what they changed me about? I got married in there. Ha, ha, ha. I got seven kids and two granddaughters.
GM: Are you taking care of any of them?
Fa: No.
FB: They all winos.
Fa: They all winos.
GM: You know what I hear? All seven of those women coming in the door.
Fa: Oh, oh! I gotta get outa here! Here it comes hide me! (he hides under the table)
FB: Brother, they your kids.
FB: Hey, y'all what y'all looking for, your father? (imitates a female voice) No we they mother. . .(normal voice) I didn't know he y'all mother, (everyone laughs) I'll let y'all talk to him.
Fa: (Looking down on the floor at the imaginary children (in a sheepish voice). Ha, ha, hahow y'all doing?
GM: You got twenty-one kids, and they're all on the floor.
Fa: How Junior doing? (imitates female voice) He drunk. (normal voice) Look, a little twenty-four month old baby, drunk.
(I coach crying baby to get on floor and grab Fa's feet and cry)

APPENDIX
(Continued)

Ba: Cries, holds Fa's feet.
Fa: Hey, baby, what you want?. . .(kicks baby). . .Get out of my face. You little rat. Out of my face I kick you in the. . .(they scuffle) . . .Out of my face you little rat, I knock you other two teeth out. Get out little baby. Oh, oh, here come the mother. (now Fa fights with imaginary Mo,shouting, slapping, falling down, Baby cries loudly)
Fa: What you want baby, what you want?
GM: I want a pair of shoes and a bottle of whiskey.
Fa: Bottle of whiskey? What kind?
GM: Some Cold Duck.
Fa: That don't make you drunk as fastest. Want some Johnny Walker Red?
FB: I want some Bali Hai.
Fa: I got plenty of it. (money)
Pr: Some Cutty Sark.
Fa: What is that?
GM: How about 1843?
Fa: I had some of that last night in the Navy.
Fa: Okay, six years later. (he leaves).